

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01702 272214Z

21

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 871

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 5180

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1702

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT:CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: USNATO 1573

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT OUTLINE ON CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC
OPINION PREPARED BY INTERNATIONAL STAFF. SPC DISCUSSED
DRAFT FOR FIRST TIME AT ITS MARCH 27 MEETING (SEPTEL). IN
CIRCLATING DRAFT, IS NOTED THAT IT WAS TO SERVE "...PRINCIPALLY
TO ASSIST DELEGATIONS BY BRINGING TOGETHER
IN SOME ORDER THE MANY VALUABLE PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN
MADE . . .".

BEGIN TEXT

THE SOVIET UNION AND HER ALLIES CAN BE EXPECTED TO
PRESENT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AS A TURNING POINT IN
EAST/WEST RELATIONS. IF THE CONCLUDING STATE OF THE CONFERENCE
IS HELD AT THE LEVEL OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, THIS WILL
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PAGE 02 NATO 01702 272214Z

CONSIDERABLY ASSIST SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN THIS RESPECT. (A DETAILED STUDY OF THE LIKELY SOVIET ATTITUDE IS CONTAINED IN THE REPORT NO OF THE EXPERT WORKING GROUP ON THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE).

2. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE OUTCOM OF THE CSCE IS PRESENTED BY GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE MEDIA IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS SET OUT CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS RELEVANT TO THIS.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

3. THE FOLLOWING MIGHT BE CONSIDERED BROAD GUIDELINES:

(I) THE MAIN PROBLEM WILL BE TO COUNTER THE DANGER OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE GIVING RISE TO OVER-
OPTIMISM AS TO THE RAPIDITY OF THE PROCESS OF
EAST/WEST DETENTE, WHILE AVOIDING TOO NEGATIVE OR
DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OUTCOME;

(II) THE PROBLEM WILL PRESENT ITSELF IN DIFFERENT WAYS IN
DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND AT DIFFERENT MOMENTS. NO ATTEMPT
SHOULD THEREFORE BE MADE TO AGREE ON A SINGLE
LINE OF PUBLIC PRESENTATION WITH REGARD TO THE RESULTS
OF THE CSCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT
TO AVOID ANY DISCORD IN PRESENTATION AND THERE IS
THEREFORE A NEED FOR AN AGREED BODY OF MATERIAL AND
ARGUMENTS TO BE DRAWN ON AT WILL ACCORDING TO
CIRCUMSTANCES;

(III) IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO ENSURE THAT THE RESULTS OF
THE CSCE ARE SEEN IN THEIR CORRECT PROPORTIONS IN THE
WIDER CONTEXT OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS GENERALLY AND,
IN PARTICULAR, OF OTHER CONTINUING EAST/WEST
NEGOTIATIONS. THE PROCESS OF DETENTE INVOLVES MUCH
MORE THAN THE CSCE ALONE;

(IV) HAVING REGARD TO (III), THE BROAD APPROACH SHOULD BE
THAT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE IS AN IMPORTANT
ELEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE, ESPECIALLY AS A
FIRST STEP IN MAJOR EAST/WEST MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY.
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PAGE 03 NATO 01702 272214Z

BUT IN NO SENSE IS IT A CAPSTONE OR TURNING POINT.
EVEN IN THE AREA OF SUBJECTS COVERED BY THE CSCE, THE
FUTURE PROGRESS OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS WILL BE GREATLY
DEPENDENT UPON THE MANNER IN WHICH PRACTICAL EFFECT IS
GIVEN TO THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

MORE DETAILED POINTS

4. WITHIN THE GUIDELINES IN PARAGRAPH 3, THE FOLLOWING
POINTS MAY NEED TO BE GIVEN SPECIAL EMPHASIS:

(I) IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE CLEAR
TO THEIR PUBLICS THEIR POSITION WITH REGARD TO DETENTE

AND, IN PARTICULAR, THAT THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION
REMAINS AND REQUIRES BOTH A CONTINUING ALLIANCE
DEFENCE EFFORT AND PATIENT NEGOTIATION IN THE WHOLE
AREA OF ARMAMENTS; BRACKET C.P. THE OTTAWA DECLARATION END BRACKET.

(II) A GOAL OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES IN THE CSCE HAS BEEN
NOT TO TRY TO CHANGE THE EAST, BUT TO BUILD TOWARDS
INCREASED EAST/WEST CO-OPERATION (PEACEFUL CO-OPERATION,
RATHER THAN MERE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE). THE RESULTS OF
THE CSCE MUST BE JUDGED BY HOW FAR THEY PROVE SUCCESS-
FUL IN PRACTICE IN PROVIDING A FRAMEWORK FOR SUCH
INCREASED CO-OPERATION AND FOR OVERCOMING DIVISIONS IN
EUROPE;

(III) IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT, AS A RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS
IN GENEVA, HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL CO-OPERATION HAS
BEEN REGISTERED AS A PROPER SUBJECT FOR EAST/WEST
NEGOTIATIONS;

(IV) THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CSCE ARE OF A POLITICAL AND
MORAL NATURE. THEY DO NOT HAVE THE FORCE OF INTER-
NATIONAL LAW. NO ONE PART OF THE CONCLUSIONS PRE-
DOMINATES; THUS THE "PRINCIPLES" ARE ON THE SAME

FOOTING AS OTHER MATTERS AGREED;

(V) THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE
CONCLUSIONS ARE IMPLEMENTED APPLIES IN ALL AREAS, WITH
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PAGE 04 NATO 01702 272214Z

REGARD, FOR EXAMPLE, TO THE PRINCIPLES AND CBMS, AS
WELL AS TO THE ITEMS UNDER THE SECOND AND THIRD AGENDA
HEADINGGS. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS ONLY REALISTIC
NOT TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED
IN NEGOTIATIONS IN SEVERAL AREAS, AND THE FACT THAT THE
RESULTING TEXTS ARE NOT ALWAYS AS STAISFACTORY OR
UNAMBIGUOUS AS COULD BE WISHED.

NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE CSCE

5. WHILE THE MAIN PROBLEM WILL BE EXCESSIVE OPTIMISM
GENERATED Y THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE, GOVERNMENTS WILL ALSO
NEED TO GIVE THOUGHT TO REPLYING TO CRITICISM FROM THOSE WHO
BELIEVE THAT THE RESULTS HAVE GIVEN AWAY TOO MUCH TO THE SOVIET
UNION AND THE EAST WITHOUT OBTAINING ENOUGH IN RETURN.
BRACKET THE COMMITTEE MAY WISH TO GIVE MORE ATTENTION TO THIS ASPECT,
RAISED IN THE US STATE MENT OF 12TH MARCH. END BRACKET

PRACTICAL STEPS

6. THE MANNER AND TIMING OF THE DISSEMINATION OF
INFORMATION WILL REQUIRE ATTENTION. SOME PREPARATORY STATEMENTS

COULD BE DESIRABLE BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PHASE.
STATEMENTS MADE BY HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT THE
CONCLUDING PHASE ITSELF WILL BE OF KEY IMPORTANCE. BUT THERE
IS LIKELY ALSO TO BE A NEED FOR CAREFUL FOLLOW-UP STATEMENTS.
MINISTERIAL AND OTHER OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WILL CERTAINLY BE
ANALYSED AND COMMENTED BY THE MEDIA AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT
TO TRY TO GUIDE THIS COMMENT IN THE RIGHT DIRECTIONS.

FOOTNOTE

BRACKET A SUGGESTION HAS BEEN MADE FOR MORE SPECIFIC
COMMENT ON INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS IN THE CSCE RESULTS.
A POSSIBLE WAY OF HANDLING THIS WOULD BE TO INCLUDE
IT, WHEN THE MATERIAL HAS BEEN MADE AVAILABLE, IN
THE FORM OF AN ANNEX TO THE GENERAL PAPER END BRACKET.

END TEXT

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PAGE 05 NATO 01702 272214Z

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